لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

إن الدين عند الله الإسلام

THE REVIEW OF RELIGIONS

July 1962

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EDITORS

S. D. AHMAD M. G. AHMAD

The Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam

The Ahmadiyya Movement was founded in 1889 by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, District Gurdaspur, India, when he started initiating members under certain conditions. He claimed to be the Promised Messiah and Mahdi. He made the startling disclosure that Jesus Christ had escaped the crucifixion and died a natural death at the ripe old age of 120 and was buried at Srinagar, Kashmir. His claim to be the Mahdi, Messiah and Krishna raised a storm of opposition from the ranks of Muslims, Christians and Hindus of the Indo-Pak sub-continent. But the number of his followers daily increased and extended into hundreds of thousands by the year 1908 when he breathed his last.

He was succeeded, on his death, by Hazrat Maulvi Noor-ud-Din, one of the most devoted of his followers as his First Successor. The Ahmadiyya Community, at his demise in 1914, elected Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, son of the Promised Messiah, as his Second Successor.

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During the tenure of his office, he particularly emphasized the propagation of the true principles of Islam and sent missionaries abroad. There is now a network of Ahmadiyya missions all over the world. Another feature of his Caliphate is the erection of mosques in the leading towns of Europe, America and Africa.

After the Partition of India in 1947 the headquarters of the Ahmadiyya Movement moved to the newly-erected town of Rabwah in West Pakistan.

Any information or literature about *Ahmadiyyat* can be had from the Ahmadiyya missions in different parts of the world or direct from

For inside Pakistan.
Nazir Islaho-Irshad
Sadar Anjuman Ahmadiyya,
Rabwah, West Pakistan.

For outside Pakistan.
The Secretary,
Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Missions,
Tahrik-i-Jadid,
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This is an organ of the Ahmadiyya Movement which represents true Islam. It deals with religious, ethical, social and economic questions, Islamic mysticism and current topics. It also provides Book Reviews.

It is open to all for discussing problems connected with the religious and spiritual growth of man, but it does not give any assurance to publish all articles, nor does it accept any responsibility for views expressed by contributors.

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S. D. AHMAD M. G. AHMAD

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CONTENTS

This issue of The Review of Religions *is wholly devoted to the problem of minorities in an Islamic State. The subject is here discussed, in detail, by Dr. M. NASIM currently teaching Islamic History at the Combridge University. The status of minorities has been a topic of discussion through centuries. In this article we find that the minorities, in an Islamic state, enjoy much greater liberty of thought and action and have greater opportunities of participating in the matters of state than under any other theocracy or any other form of govevnment.*

We hope that it will make a very interesting reading, especially for those who are interested in the study of Islamic political thought.

We welcome all our readers to write upon this topic.

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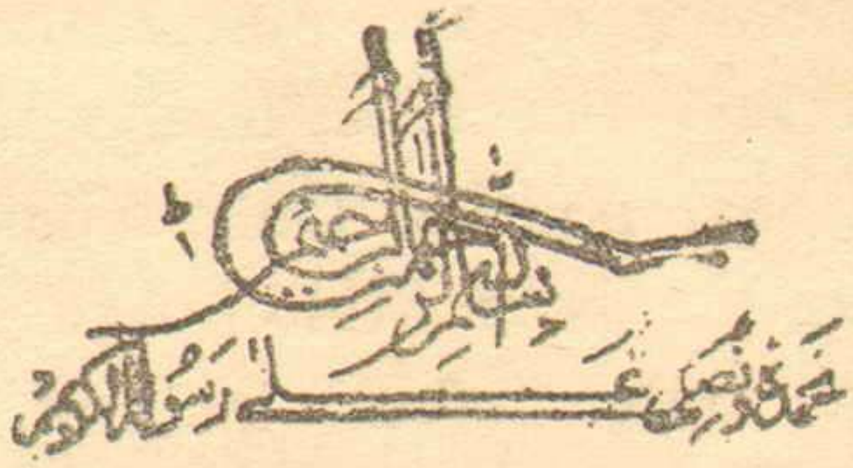

THE REVIEW OF RELIGIONS

RABWAH, WEST PAKISTAN

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The Problem of Minority and Islam.

Dr. M. Nasim, London

There are groups of people joined by ties of common descent, language or religious faith, and feeling themselves different in those respects from the majority of the inhabitants of a given political entity. On this consciousness of difference the minorities base certain political claims, either of equality with the majority, or for special treatment based upon the recognition of these differences, or for autonomy or, in the most extreme cases, separation.

Minorities have always existed, but only after the rise of democracy, in the late eighteenth century, did they become a serious political problem and play a great role in international relations. Modern humanitarianism and law have tried to dull the sharpness of minority conflicts by providing protection based upon international treaties, for minorities of race, language or religion.

In most cases minorities feel grieved by occupying an under-

privileged position, but there are cases when numerical minorities are politically and economically highly privileged, like the white population in the Union of South Africa, and when the vast majority of population feels aggrieved. Thus 'majority' and 'minority' become primarily political and not numerical concepts.[1]

Before the beginning of the nineteenth century—the age of nationalism and democracy—minorities hardly played any decisive role in national or international politics. Only religious minorities played a distinctive role during the later Middle Ages and especially in early modern times, when states often inclined to emphasise their religious homogenuity and, therefore, tried to eliminate all 'heretics'. This situation was much aggravated by the Reformation and the ensuing great religious split. Religious minorities were often treated with great severity and sometimes even forced to migrate. Catholic or Protestant princes intervened on behalf of their coreligionists in alien lands. Thus Oliver Cromwell intervened in 1655 with France for the Protestant Vaudois, a step, of which John Morley wrote that, "never was the great conception of a powerful state having duties along with interests magnanimously realised".

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"More frequent were guarantees for the religious liberty of inhabitants of territories ceded in peace treaties where the majority of inhabitants, and especially the prince, professed a religion different from that in the ceded territory. In the Treaty of Oliva (1660) between Sweden, Poland, and Brandenburg, the religious rights of the inhabitants of Livonia, ceded by Poland to Sweden, and of Pomerania ceded by Brandenburg, were recognised. In the Treaty of Nimwegen (1678) Louis XIV of France restored to Holland the town of Maastricht, taken by the French in 1673 reserving religious Liberty in favour of Catholic inhabitants."[2]

It was during the First World War that the principles of nationatity and self-determination were accepted as an official war aim by President Wilson in his address to the Congress, January 8, 1918, when he enumerated his famous fourteen points. Later on, in his address to the Congress, February 11, 1918, he repeated that, "All well- defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism

that would be likely in time to break the peace in Europe and consequently of the world."

After the First World War, the League of Nations was expected to deal with the minority problem in various countries. It tried to proceed in all such questions with due regard for the susceptibilities and sovereign rights of the states pledged to the protection of minorities by international treaties. Nonetheless, some of these states resented and opposed the minority treates. With the weakening of the peace settlement of 1919 the system of minority protection and the whole League of Nations, was weakened. On September 13, 1934 Col. Jeseph Beck, Polish Minister for Foreign affairs, declared that Poland would refuse to collaborate with the League of Nations in the matter of minority protection. Between July 1, 1938, and June 30, 1939, only four minority petitions were sent to the League of Nations. Finally in 1939 the minorities section of the secretariat of the League of Nations was closed.

After World war I minority problems were in certain countries 'solved' through the expulsion of minorities or through the refusal to allow them to return to their homes and possessions by unitlateral action. In that way millions of Germans were expelled from Poland and Czechoslovakia, and about eight hundred thousand Arabs who had fled from their homes in Palestine during the war between the Arab States and the Zionist settlers in Palestine were refused by the Isreali government permission to return to their homes. This solution of minority problems created new tensions and aggravated existing ones.[3]

From this brief survey, it will be seen that up till the nineteenth century no serious attempt was made to solve this problem by the Christain states.

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Let us now examine how the Holy Prophet of Islam and his immediate successors tried to solve the problem of minorities, and the treatment that was meted out to them.

First, let us see what was the position of the non-Christians under some of the Christian rulers. The Rt. Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali says, "The non-Christians — Jews, heretics, or pagans— — enjoyed, under Christian domination, a fitful existence. It was a matter of chance whether they would be massacred or reduced to slavery. Rights they had none; enough if they were suffered to exist.

If a Christian contracted an illicit union with a non-Christian — a lawful union was out of the question, — he was burnt to death. The Jews might not eat or drink or sit at the same table with the Christians, nor dress like them. Their children were liable to be torn from their arms, their goods plundered, at the will of the baron or bishop, or a frenzied populace. And this state of things lasted until the close of the seventeenth century".[4]

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Dean Milman says, "What was the state of the Christian world in the provinces exposed to the first invasion of Mohammadans. Sect opposed sect, clergy wrangling with clergy upon the most abstruse and metaphysical points of doctrine. The orthodox, the Nestorians, the Eutychians, the Jacobites, were persecuting each other with unexhausted animosity; and it is not judging too severely the evils of religious controversy to suppose that many would rejoice in the degradation of their adversaries under the yoke of the unbeliever, rather than make common cause with them in defence of Christianity. In how many must this incessant disputation have skaken the foundations of their faith. It had been wonderful if thousands had not, in their weariness and perplexity, sought refuge from these interminable and implacable controversies in the simple, intelligible truth of the Divine unity, though purchased by the acknowledgment of the prophetic mission of Mohammad".[5]

Canon Taylor says in a paper read before the Church Congress at Wolverhampton, October 7. 1887, "The African and Syrian doctors had substituted abstruse metaphysical dogmas for the religion of Christ; they tried to combat licentiousness of the age by setting forth the celestial merit of celibacy and the angelic excellence of virginity—seclusion from the world was the road to holiness, dirt was the characteristic of monkish sanctity the people were practically polytheists, worshipping a crowd of martyrs, saints, and angels; the upper classes were effeminate and corrupt, the middle classes oppressed by taxation, the slaves without hope for the present or the future. As with the besom of God, Islam swept away this mass of corruption and superstition. It was a revolt against empty theological polemics; it was a masculine protest against the exaltation of celibacy as a crown of piety. It brought out the fundamental dogmas of religion—the unity and

greatness of God, that He is merciful and righteous, that He claims obedience to His will, resignation and faith. It proclaimed the responsibility of man, a future life, a day of Judgement, and a stern retribution to fall upon the wicked ; and enforced the duties of prayer, almsgiving, fasting and benevolence. It thrust aside the artificial virtues, the religious feuds and follies, the perverted moral sentiments, and the verbal subtleties of theological disputants. It replaced monkishness by manliness. It gave hope to the slave, brotherhood to mankind, and recognition to the fundamental facts of human nature."[6]

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The essence of the political charter of Islam is to be found in the Charter which was granted to the Jews by the Prophet after his arrival at Medina, and the notable message sent to the Christians of Najran and the neighbouring territories after Islam was established in Arabia.

The Charter defined the rights and obligations of the Muslims and the Jews. Its main provisions are : "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful : The Charter of Muhammad the Prophet, in behalf of the Believers, and whosoever else joineth himself unto them and striveth with them for the faith. The Refugees shall defray the price of blood shed among themselves, and shall ransom honourably their prisoners. The Believers of the various tribes of Medina (named in detail) shall do the the same. Whosoever is rebellious, or seeketh to spread enmity and sedition, the hand of every man shall be against him even if he be a son. No believer shall be put to death for the blood of an infidel ; neither shall any infidel be supported against a Believer. Whosoever of the Jews followeth us shall have aid and succour ; they shall not be injured, nor shall any enemy be sided against them. No unbeliever shall grant protection to the people of Mecca, either in person or property, not interpose between the Believers and them. Whosoever killeth a Believer wrongfully the Muslims shall join as one man against him.

"The Jews shall contribute with the Muslims, while at war with a common enemy. The Jewish clans in alliance with the several tribes of Medina are one people with the Believers. The Jews will profess their religion, the Muslims theirs. As with the Jews so with their adherents. No one shall go forth to war excep-

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ting with the permission of Muhammad; but this shall not hinder any from seeking revenge. The Jews shall be responsible for their expenditure and the Muslims for theirs, but if attacked, each shall come to the assistance of the other. Medina shall be sacred and inviolate for all that join this treaty. Strangers under protection, shall be treated as their protectors are; but no female shall be so received save with the consent of her kindred. Controversies and disputes shall be referred to the decision of God and His Prophet. None shall join the men of Mecca or their allies; for verily the engaging parties are bound together against every one that shall threaten Medina. War and peace shall be made in common. He that goeth forth shall be secure; and he that sitteth at home shall be secure; saving him that transgresseth and committeth wrong. And verily God is the protector of the righteous and the godly; and Mohammad is His Prophet".[7]

From all this it will be seen that complete religious freedom was granted to the Jews, and they were accorded the same protection as the Muslims. Hence it cannot be said that the Jews were the second class citizens of the state.

"In 628 A.D. the Prophet granted to the monks of the monastery of St. Catherina, near Mount Sinai, and to all the Christians, a Charter which is one of the most remarkable documents of enlightened tolerance that the history of the world can produce. By it the Prophet secured to the Christians privileges and immunities which they did not possess even under sovereigns of their own creed; and declared that any Muslim violating and abusing what was there ordered, should be regarded as a violator of God's testament, a transgressor of His commandmets, and slighter of His faith. He undertook himself, and enjoined on his followers, to protect the Christians, to defend their churches, the residences of their priests, and to guard them from all injuries. They were not to be unfairly taxed; no bishop was to be driven out of his bishopric; no Christian was to be forced to reject his religion; no monk was to be expelled from his monastery; no pilgrim was to be detained from his pilgrimage. Nor were the Christian churches to be pulled down for the sake of building mosques or houses for the Muslims.

"Christian women married to Muslims were to enjoy their

own religion, and were not to be subjected to compulsion or annoyance of any kind on that account. If Christians should stand in need of assistance for the repair of their churches or monasteries, or any other pertaining to their religion, the Muslims were to assist them. This was not to be considered as taking part in their religion, but as merely rendering them assistance in their need, and complying with the ordinances of the Prophet which were made in their favour by the authority of God and His Apostle. Should the Muslims be engaged in hostilities with outside Christians, no Christian resident among the Muslims should be treated with contempt on account of his creed. Any Muslim so treating a Christian should be accounted recalcitrant to the Prophet. Man always attaches an idea of greatness to the character of a person who, whilst possessing the power of returning evil for evil, not only preaches but practises the divine principle of forgiveness. Muhammad as the Chief of the State and the guardian of the life and liberty of people, in the exercise of justice sternly punished every individual guilty of crime. Muhammad, the Prophet, the Teacher, was gentle and merciful even to his greatest enemies. In him were combined the highest attributes that the human mind can conceive..... justice and mercy".[8]

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In his reply to the letters sent by the chieftains of *Sub Ru'ain Mu'afir and Hamdan* the Holy Prophet writes about Jews and Christirns :—

"And if any Jew or Christian become a Muslim, he is one of the Believers, with the same rights and duties as they. But if a man persists in his Judaism or Christianity, he shall not be made to leave it, but shall pay the Tribute, a dinar of full weight for every male or female of mature age, free or slave, out of the price of the garments which they weave, or the equivalent thereof in garments. And whoso pays this unto the Apostle of God...And know that alms is not lawful for Mohammad or his family : it is charity to be bestowed on the poor of the Muslims and on the beggar".[9]

An incident from the life of the Prhphet will illustrate to what extent the principle of tolerance was given effect to in actual practice: A Christian deputation was waiting on the Holy Prophet and had carried on exchange of views with him for some days. One day they said that

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they would have to absent themselves the next day. The Holy Prophet enquired the reason for this and they explained that the following day was their Sabbath and that they must withdraw some distance from Medina to perform their worship in their own fashion. The Prophet told them that there was no need for them to withdraw from Medina for that purpose. They were welcome to perform their worship in the mosque. In that simple structure, he received the embassies, he received the deputations, he instructed his followers, he led the service and the prayers, and all his public activities were performed there. It is recorded that the following day when the time came, the Christians took out their crosses and images and placing them in the Prophet's mosque performed their worship in their own fashion. The significance of this event can be judged from the fact that Islam does not allow idol worship. Consequently when Mecca was conquered, all the idols which were there, were cleared. But in this case, the Prophet allowed the Christians to worship in their own way even by putting images in the mosque. What a glorious example of toleration has been set by the Prophet!

While at the zenith of his power, the Prophet of Islam issued the following charter of freedom to the ancient church of Najran, in the centre of Arabia in 631 A.D.: "To (the Christians of) Najran and the neighbouring territories, the security of God and the pledge of His Prophet are extended for their lives their religion, and their property to the present as well as the absent and others beside; there shall be no interference with (the practice of) their faith or their observances; nor any change in their rights or privileges; no bishop shall be removed from his bishopric; nor any monk from his monastery, nor any priest from his priesthood, and they shall continue to enjoy every thing great and small as heretofore; no image or cross shall be destroyed; they shall not oppress or be oppressed; they shall not practise the right of blood vengeance as in the Days of Ignorance; no tithes shall be levied from them nor shall they be required to furnish provisions for the troops".[10]

These conditions are very similar to those granted to the monks of St. Catherine as described above.

The importance of the Charter is greatly enhanced, when we see

that rights were given to Christian minoriry in the seventh century, when minorities in other countries existed on sufferance, and had no rights whatsoever. The faithful successors of the Holy Prophet acted on the example set by their master, and they in their turn, issued instructions for the protection of non-Muslims. Thus we find Caliph Abu Bakar gave the following order, when he sent the first expedition to Syria : "Be just ; break not your plighted faith ; mutilate none ; slay neither children, old men nor women ; injure not the date-palm nor burn it with fire, nor cut down any fruit tree, slay neither flocks nor herds nor camels, except for food; perchance you may come across men who have retired into monasteries, leave them and their work in peace ; you may eat of the food that the people of the land will bring to you in their vessels making mention thereon of the name of God ; and you will come across people with shaven crowns, touch them with the flat of the sword (as a sign of the authority that the Muslims would henceforth exercise over them ; but the words do not mean 'put them to death').

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Go forward now in the name of God and may He protect you in battle and pestilence."

"The provinces of the Byzantine Empire that were rapidly acquired by the prowess of the Muslims found themselves in the enjoyment of a toleration such as, on account of their Monophysite and Nestorian opinions, had been unknown to them for centuries. They were allowed the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion with a few restrictions imposed for the sake of preventing any friction between the adherents of the rival religions or arousing any fanaticism by the ostentatious exhibition of religious symbols that were so offenisve to Muslim feeling. The extent of this toleration.....so striking in the history of the seventh century.....may be judged from the terms granted to conquered cities, in which protection of life and property and toleration of religious belief were given in return for submission and the payment of a capitation tax".[11]

Then again we see similar protection being given to the Christians by the treaty made at al-Jabiya by which Jerusalem was ceded to the Muslims. It is as follows : "In the name of the most merciful God. This is the treaty for the people of Aelia. This

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is the favour which the servant of God, the commander of the Faithful, grants to the people of Aelia. He gives them the assurance of the preservation of their lives and properties, their churches and crosses, of those who set up, who display and who honour those crosses. Your churches will not be transformed into dwellings nor destroyed, nor will anyone confiscate anything belonging to them, nor the crosses or belongings of the inhabitants. There will be no constraint in the matter of religion, nor the least annoyance. The Jews will inhabit Aelia co-jointly with the Christians, and those who live there will be required to pay the poll-tax, like the inhabitants of other towns. Greeks and robbers are to leave the town, but will have a safe conduct until they reach a place of security. Still, those who prefer to remain may do so on condition of paying the same poll-tax as the rest. If any of the people of Aelia desire to leave with the Greeks, taking their goods, but abandoning their chapels and crosses, they will be granted personal safety, until they arrive at a sure place. The stranger in the town may remain on the same condition of paying the tax, or, if they wish, they may leave also with the Greeks, and return to their own land. They will have nothing to pay until one harvest shall have been gathered in. All that this treaty contains is placed under the alliance and protection of God, and of His Apostle (peace be upon him), and of His successors, and of the Faithful, so long as they pay the tax.

"Witnessed by Khalid ibn-ul-Walid, Amar ibn-al-As, Abd-ar-Rahman ibn Auf, and Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan".[12]

The same guarantee of the person, property, and religious freedom is contained in the treaty concluded by Amar ibn al-As, when he conquered Egypt. It is as follows : "In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. This is what Amar ibn al-As granted to the people of Misr in pledge of security for their persons and their religion and their goods, and their churches and their crosses and their lands and their waters, there shall not be taken from them anything of this, nor diminished. And the garrison shall not settle among them.

"And (it is binding) upon the people of Misr that they pay the poll-tax when they come into this Treaty of peace and the overflow of their river has subsided fifty millions. And (binding) on them is what their robbers commit.

"And if any of them refuse (to come into this Treaty), the sum of the taxes shall be cut down for them (who are liable for it) in proportion to them : and our obligation towards that refuse is quit.

"And if their river has less than its full rise; then the sum (of taxation) shall be reduced for them in proportion.

"And whoso refuses and chooses to go away, he shall be safe till he reaches his place of security or departs from our dominion.

"What is (laid) upon them is by thirds, at every third drawing on third of what is (laid) upon them.

"For what is in this writing (stands), the pledge and warranty of God, and the warranty of His Prophet, and the warranty of the Khalifa, the Commander of the Faithful, and the warranties of the faithful.

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"And (it is prescribed) for the garrisons who consent (to this treaty) that they shall assist with so many head and so many horse that they be not plundered or hindered from commerce to and from."

"Witness Ez-Zubeyr and Abdullah and Mohammad his sons. Marwan wrote that and was present".[13]

The terms of the treaty by which Damascus, the capital of Syria, passed into the hands of the Muslims in 637 A.D. were :

"This is the treaty which Khalid son of al-Walid deigns to make with the inhabitants of Damascus, upon his entry into this town, he secures to them their lives and goods, the retention of their churches and of the walls of their town. No house will be pulled down or taken away from its owner. This assures the alliance of God and the protection of His Prophet, of his successor and of the faithful."[14]

These early treaties are important documents in the history of Islam. They demonstrate, upon evidence which cannot be disputed, the policy adopted by the conquerors towards the vanquished. Mr. Stanley Lanepoole, very rightly says, "But, as a matter of history, Islam was not 'propagated by sword'. The Koran never enjoins any such principle. It does indeed exhort Muslims to 'fight in the path of God with those who fight

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with you,' 'but adds, 'if they desist, God is forgiving and merciful' ... let there be no hostility save against transgressors'. (11;186-189) Unprovoked war is clearly contrary to the letter and spirit of the Koran, but war against the enemies of el-Islam, who have been the first aggressors, is enjoined as a sacred duty; and who loses his life in fulfilling this duty (if unpaid) is promised the reward of a martyr ..... of such enemies, if reduced by force of arms, refusing to capitulate, or to surrender themselves, the men may be put to death or be made slaves; and the women and children also, under the same circumstances, to those who surrender themselves by capitulation or otherwise, on the condition of their embracing el-Islam, or paying a poll - tax, unless they have acted perfidiously towards the Muslims."[15]

That force was not the determining factor in the conversion of tribes may be seen from the amicable relations that existed between the Christians and the Muslim Arabs. As stated above, the Prophet himself had entered into treaties with several Christian tribes, promising them his protection and guaranteeing them the free exercise of their religion, and to their clergy undisturbed enjoyment of their old rights and authority.

In the battle of the Bridge (A.H. 13) when a disasterous defeat was imminent, and the Arabs were hemmed in between the Euphrates and the Persian host, a Christian chief of Banu Tayy, sprang forward to assist al - Muthanna, the Muslim general in defending the bridge of boats which could alone afford the means of an orderly retreat. Sir William Muir says, "The victory is remarkable as gained in part by the valour of a Christian tribe. And yet further, the most gallant feat of the day was achieved by one of another Christian clan; for a party of Bedawi merchants with a string of horses for sale, arriving just as the ranks were being dressed, threw themselves into the battle on the Arab side. A youth from amongst them darting into the centre of the Persians, slew the leader Mihran, and leaping on his richly caparisoned horse, rode back crying, as he passed in triumph amidst the plaudits of the Muslim line: 'I am of the Beni Taghlib. I am he that hath slain the Chief'."[16]

The tribe to which this young man belonged was one of those that elected to remain Christian, while other Bedouin tribes

of Mesopotamia, such as the Banu Namir and Bani Rudsah, became Muslims.

Caliph Omar forbade any pressure to be put upon them, when they showed themselves unwilling to abandon their old faith, and ordered that they should be left undisturbed in the practice of it, but that they were not to oppose the conversion of any member of their tribe to Islam nor baptise the children of such as became Muslims. They were called upon to pay Jazia or tax imposed on the Christian subjects, but they petitioned to the Caliph to be allowed to make the same kind of contribution as the Muslims did. So in lieu of the jazia they paid a double zakat — which was a poor tax.[17]

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From these examples of the toleration extended towards the Christian Arabs by the victorious Muslims, it can safely be inferred that the Christian tribes that accepted Islam, did so of their own free will and choice. The Christian Arabs or other non-Muslims of the present day, living in the midst of a Muslim population, are a living testimony of this toleration. Layard speaks of having come across an encampment of Christian Arabs at Kerak, to the east of the Dead Sea, who differed in no way, either in dress or manners, from the Muslim Arabs.[18]

Burokhardt was told by the monks of Mount Senai that in the eighteenth century there still remained several families of Christian Bedouins who had accepted Islam, and that the last of them, an old woman, died in 1750 A.D., and was buried in the garden of the convent.[19]

Von Kremer says that there were about twelve hundred people in the village of Quraytayn, in the desert, twenty-four hours' journey south west of Palmyra, half of whom were Syrian Christians living in perfect harmony with the Muslim neighbours and wearing like them, the Bedouin dress. Again as a result of the toleration extended to the Christian subjects under the Muslims and the protection given to their faith and their churches, it is not surprising that the activities of their missions increased and they sent missionaries in distant lands like India and China. About the activities of Nestorians, professor Arnold says, "Alternately petted and persecuted by the Persian kings, in whose dominions by far the majority of the members of

this sect were found, it had passed a rather precarious existence and had been subjected to harsh treatment when war between Persia and Byzantine exposed it to the suspicion of sympathising with the Christian enemy. But, under the rule of Caliphs, the security they enjoyed at home enabled them to vigorously push forward their missionary enterprises abroad. Missionaries were sent to China and India both of which were raised to the dignity of Metropolitan sees in the eighth century; about the same period they gained a footing in Egypt, and later spread the Christian faith right across Asia, and by the eleventh century had gained many converts from among the Tartars".[20]

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Jazia.

In passing, I may state that it is wrong to say that Jazia was imposed on Christians as a penalty for their refusal to accept Islam, but it was paid, in common with the other non-Muslim subjects of the state whose religion precluded them from serving in the army, in return for the protection secured for them under the Muslims. It is a tax taken from the free non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim state for the protection of life and property and exemption from military service.

In the Holy Quran it is laid down: "Fight those from among the people of the Book who believe not in Allah, nor in the Last Day, nor hold as unlawful what Allah and His Messenger have declared to be unlawful, nor follow the true religion, until they pay the tax with their own hand and acknowledge their subjection." (9 : 29)

In this connection Mr. Muhammad Ali says, "It may also be added that the permission to flight, as given to the Muslims, is subject to the condition that the enemy should first take up the sword, 'Fight in the way of God with those who fight with you' (2 : 190); the Holy Prophet never overstepped this limit. He fought against the Arabs when they took up the sword to destroy the Muslims and he led an expedition against the Christians when the Roman Empire first mobilised its forces with the object of subjugating the Muslims. And so scrupulous was he, that when he found that the enemy had not yet taken the initiative, he did not attack the Roman Empire, but returned

from Tabuk without fighting".[21]

From the very earliest times even up till today, tributes and taxes have been levied by governments .....whether they be Muslims or non-Muslims to carry on the administration. In the time of the Holy Prophet, certain non-Muslim states when conquered were allowed to administer their own affairs on payment of a small sum as a tribute. There was no military occupation of their territories and no interference with their administration, custom or their religion.

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The tribute taken from the Christians of Hirah was called jazia and this was the first jazia in Islam. When the people of Hirah contributed the sum agreed upon, they expressly mentioned that they were paying this sum on the condition "that the Muslims and their leader protect us from those who oppress us whether they be Muslims or others."[22]

He issued a proclamation by which he guaranteed the lives, liberty and property of the Christians and declared, that, "they shall not be prevented from blowing their Nakus (a kind of wooden pipe used in Eastern Christian churches in place of a bell) and taking out their crosses on occasions of festivals". "And this declaration," says Imam Abu Yusuf, "was approved of and sanctioned by the Caliph and his Council".

How scrupulously this condition was carried into effect may be judged from the following incident in the time of Caliph Omar. The Emperor Heraclius had raised an enormous army with which to drive back the invading forces of the Muslims, who had in consequence, to concentrate all their resources to meet the new threat. The Muslim general, Abu Obaidah, after consulting Caliph Omar, asked the governors of the conquered cities of Syria to return the jazia which had been collected, and wrote to the people saying, "We give you back the money that we took from you, as we have received the news that a strong force is advancing against us. The agreement between us was that we should protect you, and as this is not now in our power, we return you all that we took. But if we are victorious we shall consider ourselves bound to you by the old terms of our agreement." In accordance with this order, enormous sums were paid back out of the state treasury, and the Christians called down blessings on the heads

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of the Muslims, saying, "May God give you rule over us again and make you victorious over the Romans; had it been they, they would not have given us back anything, but would have taken all that remained with us."[23]

Jazia being essentially a tax paid for exemption from military service, it was levied on the able-bodied males. All females, minors, old people, or those who were crippled, the paralysed, the blind, the poor who could not work for themselves, the slaves, and the monks were exempted from this tax. The rate of jazia was very low. Originally it was one dinar per head for a whole year. A dinar was valued at about Rs. 10/- or about 12/6 shillings. Later on, the rate was raised in the case of rich people to four dinars annually; next came those who paid two dinars annually, the lowest rate being one dinar. The three grades were defined thus:- (1) The rich man (al-zahir al-ghina, or he whose wealth is manifest,) who owns abundant property, so that he need not work for his livelihood, (2) the middle class man who owns property; but in addition thereto needs to earn money to make a living; and (3) the poor man who has no property, but earns more than is necessary to maintain himself. The Muslims had to pay much more than what the non-Muslims were to pay in the form of jazia. He had to pay two and a half per cent of his savings, and perform military service as well. The jazia was levied in a very sympathetic way. The Caliph Omar once saw a blind non-Muslim begging, and finding on inquiry that he had to pay jazia, he not only exempted him, but, in addition, ordered that he be paid a stipend by the government, issuing orders that all zimis (non-Muslims), in similar circumstances, be paid stipends.[24]

It may be noted that when any Christian wanted to serve in the Muslim army, he was exempted from the payment of this tax. This was the case of the tribe of Jarjimah, a Christian tribe near Antioch, who made peace with the Muslims, promising to be their allies and to fight on their side in battle on condition that they should not be called upon to pay jazia and should receive their proper share of the booty. A similar agreement was made with a frontier tribe of North Persia, which was exempted from the payment of jazia in consideration of military service.[25]

In later times, Christians, who served in the Turkish army and navy, were exempt from the payment of jazia. The Christian inhabitants of Hydra paid no direct taxes to the Sultan, but furnished instead a contingent of two hundred and fifty able-bodied seamen to the Turkish fleet.[26]

In the same way, in consideration of the services they rendered to the state, the capitation-tax was not imposed upon the Greek Christians who looked after the aqueducts that supplied Constantinople with drinking water. On the other hand, when the Egyptian peasants, although Muslim in faith, were made exempt from military service, a tax was imposed upon them as on the Christians, in lieu thereof.[27]

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The very fact that Christians were fighting side by side with the Muslims shows that these were not religious wars, but those fought in defence of the country.

The facts stated above belie the assertion that in the times of immediate successors of the Holy Prophet, the Muslim envoys who were sent to negotiate with the enemy were directed to negotiate on the simple formula, 'Embrace Islam, or pay the poll-tax or die by the sword'.

If in fact any such instructions were given to the generals of the Muslim armies, then it stands to reason that the victorious generals should have been allowed to conquer as much territory as possible, and thereby increase the number of converts at the 'point of sword' ; but the actual facts reveal a different state. After the rout of the Persians under Yezdjard at Holwan, when Ziyad, a messenger sent by the Muslim general Saad with the news of victory to Medina, asked Caliph Omar for permission to pursue the fugitives across the border into Khorasan, he gave the following reply, "I desire that between Mesopotamia and the countries beyond, the hills shall be a barrier, so that Persians shall not be able to get at us, nor we at them. The plain of al-Irak sufficeth for our wants. I would rather the safety of my people than thousands of spoil and further conquest." Sir William Muir, commenting upon this says, "The thought of a world wide mission was yet in embryo ; obligation to enforce Islam by a universal crusade had not yet dawned upon the Muslim mind".[28]

From this it is absolutely clear that according to Muir no

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charge of spreading Islam 'at the point of sword' can be brought at least up to the time of Caliph Omar. Indeed from the examples given above of the good treatment of the non-Muslims by the Holy Prophet of Islam and his immediate successors, it is amply proved that there is no substance in the charge. "The very existence of so many Christian sects and communities in countries that have been for centuries under Muhammadan rule is an abiding testimony to the toleration they have enjoyed."

In the words of a Christian writer, "The rise of Islam is perhaps the most amazing event in human history. Arising in a desert land sparsely inhabited by a nomad race previously undistinguished in human annals, Islam sallied forth on its great adventure with the slenderest human backing and against the heaviest material odds. Yet Islam triumphed with seeming miraculous ease from the Pyrenes to the Himalayas and from the desert of Central Asia to the desert of Central Africa."[29]

The spread of Islam in Africa during a period of nearly thirteen centuries, among its diverse tribes and races, affords a very remarkable event in human history. It made rapid progress among the Berbers, whose national characteristics and habits in life were very similar to those of the Arabs. When in 703 A.D. the Berbers made their last stand against the Arab army, their great queen and prophetess, Kahina, seeing that the fortune of battle was against them, sent her sons into the camp of the Muslim general with instructions that they were to embrace Islam, but she herself elected to fall fighting at the head of her countrymen in the great battle that crushed the political power of the Berbers at the spring of Kahina. After the loss of their political independence, they accepted a religion that by its simplicity would naturally have recommended itself so much to them, and to which their prophetess had pointed them by what was virtually a submission on her part to the new faith.

The army of twelve thousand Berbers that sailed from Africa in 711 A.D. under Tariq (himself a Berber) to the conquest of Spain, was composed of recent converts to Islam, and their conversion is expressly said to have been sincere : learned Arabs and theologians were appointed, "to read and explain to them the sacred words of the Quran, and instruct them in all and every one of the duties enjoined by their new religion."[30]

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The Founder of the Qadriyah order was Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani whose guiding principles were love of neighbour and toleration ; though kings and men of wealth showered their gifts upon him, his boundless charity kept him always poor, and in none of his books or precepts is to be found any expression of ill-will or enmity towards the Christians ; whenever he spoke of the people of the Book, it was only to express his sorrow for their religious errors, and to pray that God might enlighten them. This tolerant attitude he bequeathed as a legacy to his disciples, and it had been a striking characteristic of his followers in all ages.[31] It was through the ceaseless efforts of the missionaries of this sect that Islam spread to West Africa. Starting with the Sudan, on the mountain chain that runs along the coast of Guinea, and even to the west of it in the State of Liberia up to the middle of the nineteenth century most of the schools in the Sudan were founded and conducted by teachers trained under the auspices of the Qadriyahs. Their missionary work has been peaceful in character, and was based on the personal example and precept, on the influence of the teacher over his pupils, and on the spread of education.[32]

What the civilisation of Muslim Africa implies to a Negro convert is very admirably expressed by Mr. Bosworth Smith. He says, "The worst evils which, there is reason to believe, prevalied at one time over the whole of Africa and which are still to be found in many parts of it, and those, too, not far from the Gold Coast and from our own settlements,.....cannibalism and human sacrifice and the burial of the living infants..... disappear at once and for ever. Natives who have hitherto lived in a state of nakedness, or nearly so, begin to dress, and that neatly : natives who have never washed before begin to wash, and that frequently ; for ablutions are commanded in the Sacred law, and it is an ordinance which does not involve too severe a strain on their natural instincts. The tribal organisation tends to give place to something which has a wider basis. In other words, tribes coalesce into nations, and, with the increase of energy and intelligence, nations into empires. Many such instances could be adduced from the history of Sudan and the adjoining countries during the last hundred years. If the warlike spirit is thus stimulated, the centres from which war springs are fewer in

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number and further apart. War is better organised, and is under some form of restraint: quarrels are not picked for nothing; but there is less indiscriminate plundering and greater security for property and life. Elementary schools, like those described by Mungo Park a century ago, spring up, and even if they only teach in their schools to recite the Koran, they are worth something in themselves, and may be a step to much more. The well-built and the neatly kept mosque, with its call to prayer repeated five times a day, its Mecca-pointing niche, its Imam and its weekly services, becomes the centre of the village, instead of the ghastly fetish or juju house. The worship of one God, Omnipotent, Omnipresent, Omniscient, and Compassionate, is an immeasurable advance upon anything which the nature has been taught to worship before. The Arabic language, in which the Muslim scriptures are always written, is a language of extraordinary copiousness and beauty; once learned it becomes a *lingua franca* to the tribes of half the continent, and serves as an introduction to literature, or rather, is a literature in itself. It substitutes, moreover, a written code of law for the arbitrary caprice of a chieftain.....a change which is, in itself, an immense advance in civilisation. Manufactures and commerce spring up, not the dumb trading or the elementary bartering of raw products which we know from Herodotus to have existed from the earliest times in Africa, nor the cowree shells, or gunpowder, or tobacco, or rum, which still serve as a cheif medium of exchange all along the coast, but manufactures involving considerable skill, and a commerce which is elaborately organised; and under the influence, and that of the more settled government which Islam brings in its train, there have arisen those great cities of Negroland whose very existence, when first they were described by European travellers, could not but be half discredited. I am far from saying that the religion is the sole cause of all this comparative prosperity. I only say it is consistent with it, and it encourages it. Climatic conditions and various other influences co-operate towards the result; but what has pagan Africa, even where the conditions are very similar, to compare with it.

"As regards the individual, it is admitted on all hands that Islam gives to its new Negro converts an energy, a dignity, a self-reliance, and a self-respect which is rarely found in their

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pagan or their Christian fellow countrymen."[33]

Now if we take the case of India, we find that Islam spread mostly on account of the missionary activities of the Muslim merchants and saints. The first advent of Islam in South India dates from the eighth century, when a band of refugees to whom the present Moplas in the south of India trace their descent, came from Iraq and settled in the country. The trade in spices, ivory, gems etc, between India and Europe, which for centuries was conducted by Arabs and Persians, caused a continual stream of Muslim influence to flow in upon the west coast of Southern India. From this constant influx of foreigners there resulted a mixed population, half Hindu and half Arab or Persian, in the trading centres along the coast. Very friendly relations existed between these Muslim traders and the Hindu rulers. It appears these traders were allowed to carry on the missionary work.

Thus in *Tohfat-ul-Mujahideen* it is stated, "The Mohammadans of Malabar, having no emir amongst them possessed of sufficient power and authority to govern them, are consequently under the rule of the pagan chieftains, who faithfully guard their interests and decide between them, besides granting to them advantageous privileges ; and should any Mohammadan subject himself to the punishment of fine by them, notwithstanding his delinquency, or any other provocation, because to them they owe the increase of towns in their country, these having sprung up from the residence of the faithful amongst them".[34]

Professor Arnold says, "So numerous have these conversions from Hinduism been, that the tendency of the Muhammadans of the west as well as the east coast of Southern India has been to reversion to the Hindu or aboriginal type, and, except in case of some of the nobler families, they now in great part present all the characteristics of an aboriginal people, with very little of the original foreign blood in them. In the western coast districts the tyranny of caste intolerance is peculiarly oppressive ; to give but one instance, in Travancore certain of the lower castes may not come nearer than seventy five paces to a Brahman, and have to make a grunting noise as they pass along the road, in order to give warning of their approach. Similar instances might be multi-

plied. What wonder then that the Muslim population is fast increasing through conversion from these lower castes, who thereby free themselves from such degrading oppression and raise themselves and their descendants in the social scale."[35]

The Deccan also was the scene of the successful labours of many Muslim missionaries. From very early times Arab traders had been visiting towns on the west coast, and in the tenth century, Arabs in large numbers settled in the town of Konkan, and intermarried with the women of the country. Under the Muhammadan dynasties of the Bahmanid (1370-1490) and Bijapur kings (1489-1686), a fresh impulse was given to Arab immigration, and with the trader and the soldier of fortune came the missionaries seeking to make spiritual conquests in the cause of Islam, and win over the unbelieving people of the country by their preaching and example, for forcible conversions we have no record under the early Deccan dynasties, whose rule was characterised by a striking toleration.[36]

One of these Arab preachers, Pir Mahabir Khan Dayat, came as missionary to the Deccan as early as 1304 A.D. Towards the close of this century a celeberated saint of Gulbarga, Syed Hussayn Gaysudaraz, converted a number of Hindus of the Poona district, and in twenty years he converted a large number of people in Belgaum.[37]

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At Dahanu can be found the descendants of the saint Sheikh Babu Sahib, a relative of the celebrated saint of Islam, Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad ; he came to Western India about four hundred years ago, and after making many converts in Konkan, died, and was buried at Dahanu.[38]

The descendants of another saint, Shah Mahmud Sadiq Sarmast Hussayni, are still found in Nasik ; he is said to have been the most successful of Muslim missionaries ; having come from Medina in 1568, he travelled over the greater part of Western India and finally settled at Nasik—in which district another very successful Muslim missionary, Khwaja Khumir Hussayni, had begun to labour fifty years before.[39]

Another missionary movement was centred round the city of Multan which was one of the outposts of Sind when Muhammad bin Qasim conquered Sind in 714 A.D. During the three

centuries of Arab rule, there were naturally many converts to Islam. When the Caliph Sulyman son of Abdul Malik died, he was succeeded by Omar bin Abdul Aziz (717). He wrote to the princes inviting them to become Musalmans, and to submit to his authority upon which they would be treated like other Musalmans. These princes had already heard of his promises. character, and creed, so Jaishiya and other princes turned Musalmans and took Arab names.[40]

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That these conversions were in the main voluntary, may be judged from the toleration that the Arabs, after the first violence of their onslaught, showed towards their idolatrous subjects. The people of Brahmanabad, for example, whose city had been taken by storm, were allowed to repair their temple, which was a means of livelihood to the Brahmans, and nobody was to be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion, and generally, where submissoin was made, quarter was readily given, and the people were permitted the exercise of their own creeds and laws.[41]

Arab geographers of the tenth and twelveth centuries mention the names of many cities, both on the coast and inland, where the Musalmans built their mosques, and were safe under the protection of the native princes, who even granted them the privilege of living under their own laws. The Arab merchants at this time formed the medium of commerical connection between Sind and the neighbouring countries of India and the outside world. They brought the produce of China and Ceylon to the sea-ports of Sind and from there conveyed them by way of Multan to Turkistan and Khurasan.[42]

One of the most famous of these missionaries was the celebrated saint, Syed Yusufuddin who came to Sind in 1422 A.D. In ten years he succeeded in converting more than seven hundred families of the Lohana caste, who followed the example of two of their numbers, by name Sundarji and Hansraj ; these men embraced Islam after seeing some miracles performed by the saint and on their conversion received the names of Adamji and Taj Muhammad respectively. Under the leadership of the grandson of the former, these people migrated to Cutch, where their numbers were increased by converts from among the Cutch Lohanas.[43]

To Sind also came Pir Sadruddin, a missionary of the

Ismailian sect. The first of his converts were from the villages and town of Upper Sind : he preached also in Cutch and from there the doctrines of this sect spread southwards through Gujrat to Bombay.

It is in Bengal, however, that the Muslim missionaries in India have achieved their greatest success so far as number is concerned. It is not in the ancient centres of Muslim governments that the Musalmans of Bengal are found in large numbers, but in the country districts, in districts where there are no traces of settlers from the west. The Muslim missionaries were welcomed by the aborigines and the low castes despised and condemned by the Aryan rulers.

Sir William Hunter says, "To these poor people, fishermen, hunters, pirates, and low-caste tillers of the soil, Islam came as a revelation from on high. It was the creed of the ruling race, its missionaries were men of zeal who brought the Gospel of the Unity of God and the equality of men in its sight to a despised and neglected population. The initiatory rite rendered lapse impossible, and made the proselyte and his posterity true believers for ever. In this way Islam settled down on the richest alluvial province of India, the province which was capable of supporting the most rapid and densest increase of population. Compulsory conversions are occasionally recorded. But it was not to force that Islam owed its permanent success in lower Bengal. It appealed to the people, and it derived the great mass of its converts from the poor. It brought in a higher conceptien of God, and a nobler idea of the brotherhood of man. It offered to the teeming low castes of Bengel, who had sat for ages abject on the outermost pale of the Hindu community a free entrance into a new social organisation".[44]

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One of the earliest Muslim missionaries in Northern India was sheikh Ismail, a Syed of Bokhara, who was famous for his secular and religious learning. He was the Muslim missionary who preached Islam in the city of Lahore in 1005 A.D. Crowds gathered to hear his sermons, and the number of converts swelled rapidly day by day, and it is said that no unbeliever ever came into personal contact with him without being converted to the faith of Islam.[45]

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The conversion of the western plains of the Punjab was the work of Baha-ul-Haq of Multan, also known as Sheikh Baha-ud-Din Zakaria, and Baba Farid-ud-Din of Pakpattan, who flourished about the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. A biographer of the latter saint gives a list of sixteen tribes who accepted Islam.[46]

One of the most famous of the Muslim saints of India and a pioneer of Islam in Rajputana was Khwaja Muin-ud-Din Chishti, who died in Ajmer in 1234 A. D. He was a native of Sajistan to the east of Persia ; and is said to have received his call to preach Islam in India while on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Here the Prophet appeared to him in a dream and addressed him thus : "The Almighty has entrusted the country of India to thee, go thither and settle in Ajmer. By God's help, the faith of Islam shall, through thy piety and that of thy followers, spread in that land". He obeyed the call and made his way to Ajmer which was then under Hindu rule and idolatory prevailed throughout the land. Among the first of his converts, there was a Yogi, who was the spiritual preceptor of the Raja himself. Gradually he gathered around him a large body of disciples whom his teachings had won from the ranks of infidelity and his fame as a religious leader became very widespread and attracted to Ajmer great numbers of Hindus whom he persuaded to embrace Islam. On his way to Ajmer he is said to have converted seven hundred persons in the city of Delhi.[47]

Even to day he is held in so much reverence and respect that not only hundreds and thousands of Muslims but followers of other faiths like Hindus and others pay a visit in thousands to his Mausoleum every year on his death anniversary. At this time special arrangements are made for the transport of people coming from all the corners of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

A Persian named Sheikh Jalal-ud-Din came to India in the latter half of the fourteenth century and settled down in Sylhet, (now in Pakistan) in order to convert the people of these parts to Islam. He achieved a great reputation as a holy man, and his proselytising labours were crowned with great success.[48]

Professor Arnold thus reviews the causes that led to the rapid spread of Islam in India. He says, "Such movements and the efforts of individual missionaries are, however, quite inadequate to

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explain the rapid increase of the Muhammadans of India, and one is naturally led to inquire what are the causes other than the normal increase of population, which add so enormously to their numbers. The answer is to be found in the social conditions of life among Hindus. The insults and comtempt heaped upon the lower castes of Hiudus by their co-religionists, and the impassable obstacles placed in the way of any member of these castes desiring to better his condition, show up in striking contrast the benefits of a religious system which has no outcastes and gives free scope for the indulgence of any ambition. In Bengal, for example, the weavers of cotton piece goods, who are looked upon as vile by their Hindu co-religionists, embrace Islam in large numbers to escape from the low position to which they are otherwise degraded. A very remarkable instance of a similar kind occurs in the history of the north eastern part of the same province. There in the year 1550 the aboriginal tribe of the Cutch established a dynasty under their great leader, Haju ; in the reign of his grandson, when the higher classes in the state were received into the pale of Hinduism, the mass of the people finding themselves despised as outcastes, became Muhammadans. Similar instances might be given from all parts of India. A Hindu who has in any way lost caste and been in consequence repudiated by his relations, and by the society in which he has been accustomed to move, would naturally be attracted towards a religion that receives all without distinction, and offers to him a great society equal in the social scale to that from which he has been banished. Such a change of religion might well be accompanied with sincere conviction, but men also who might be profoundly indifferent to the number or names of the dieties they were called upon to worship, would feel very keenly the social ostracism entailed by their loss of caste, and become Muhammadan without any religious feeling at all. The influence of the study of Muhammadan literature also, and the habitual contact with Muhammadan society, must often make itself intensely felt".[49]

From this brief survey, it is abundantly clear that Islam owes its rapid rise mainly to the peaceful efforts of its traders and missionaries. This is not to deny the undoubted facts of history that some of its bigoted or misguided followers .....be they kings or ordinary followers.....did use force in converting people, but for this act of theirs, Islam cannot be held responsible. They were

undoubtedly guilty of gross violation of the explicit teachings of the Holy Quran beginning with 'There is no compulsion in religion'. (2 : 257), and ending with, 'For you your religion, and for me my religion'. (109 : 6) It is therefore of the utmost importance that any act of this or that Muslim ruler should not be taken as an example of an Islamic act, and then blame Islam for it. I can well appreciate the difficulty of non-Muslim writers and scholars, when they find that as a matter of historical facts, some Muslim rulers, at one time or the other and in many countries, have either forced Islam on their non-Muslim subjects, or treated them harshly and deprived them of their just rights. They take their deeds to be in accordance with the teachings of Islam, and thus they blame the religion for the misdeeds of these rulers. To them I would earnestly appeal that the high position of any particular Muslim should not misguide them to suppose that whatever he does is in accordance with the teachings of Islam. Let us take a few examples.

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Dr. Tritton says, "There can be no doubt that, at the end of the first century, the reign of Omar 11 saw the beginning of definite disabilities for the *Dhimmis*. Restrictions were placed on their dress, and the attempt to oust them from official posts began. It may be remembered that Omar 11 is the typical pious persecutor, scrupulously just in his dealings with individuals, while he tries to suppress the *Dhimmis* as a class. Not all of his laws were enforced ; for in the time of Mamun, the inhabitants of Harran still wore the kuba and long hair. His attempt to drive Dhimmis from government service was even less successful".[50]

Professor Arnold says, "It is established without doubt that forced conversions have been made by Muhammadan rulers, and it seems probable that Aurangzeb's well known zeal on behalf of his faith has caused many families of Northern India (the history of whose conversion has been forgotten) to attribute their change of faith to this, the most easily assignable cause".[51]

That all the actions of individuals, however highly placed or great they may be, cannot be taken as those directed by, or in conformity with, the religion they profess, can be well illustrated from the Tribunal of the Roman Catholic Church known as the Inquisition, the function of which was to combat heresy. From

its beginning the church had used disciplinary measures of a spiritual nature, for example excommunication, against dissidents with the rise of the Cathars, who were called *Patarini* in Italy and *Abbigenses* in France, gave rise to problems with which the church seemed unprepared to cope. In the eleventh century the civil authorities took severe action against them. In 1022, Robert the Pious, king of France, (996-1031) burned thirteen Cathars at Orleans. Henry III, Emperor of Germany, (1039-1056), had a number of them hanged at Goslar in 1052. The Church authorities condemned such summary proceedings. St. Bernard protested that faith must be 'the result of conviction and should not be imposed by force'. The Council of Reims (1049) pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the heretics then appearing in France, probably the Cathars; that of Toulouse (1119) recommended that the civil power exile the petrobrusiars. In the middle years of the twelfth century a new tendency appeared, due in part to the feeling that during the Crusades against Islam unity at home must be strictly enforced. From this time on, both spiritual and temporal rulers began to apply severe penalties of a secular nature and eventually established the death penalty for heresy.

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In the face of increasingly harsh legislation against them, the Cathars and other heretics formed secret societies. This had the result of increasing the inquisitorial characteristics of the agencies fighting them. Despite stringent legislation little was actually accomplished against heresy till Pope Gregory (1227-1241) began to take the matter out of the hands of secular and local ecclesiastical rulers by instituting the inquisition proper. He established permanent tribunals which he placed under the direction of judges whom he considered able to ferret out heretics hiding under the mantle of orthodoxy. But heresy declined towards the end of the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Inquisition was occupied with the Apostolics, Fraticelli, Beghards, Beguines and others.

Jews who had accepted the Christian faith and then apostatized were also subject to Inquisition, as well as Christians guilty of crimes like devil worship, unnatural vice and even usury. About the Medieval Inquisition, Lecky's charge is that "the Church of Rome had shed more innocent blood than any other institution that has ever existed in mankind." In 1390, 50,000 Jaws were massacred. As a result

of the preachings of St. Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419) and the severe edicts of the years 1412-1413 many Jews accepted Christianity. It was alleged that this was due to a desire to safeguard their wealth rather than to conviction.

Charles V (1516-1556) tried to introduce a kind of Inquisition into the low countries but was unsuccessful, as was Philip 11 (1556-1598) in his efforts to establish the Spanish Inquisitien in Milan and Naples.[52]

For these acts of some of the high dignitaries of the Church and kings it would be wrong to blame Christianity for these bloody deeds. They were the acts of these individual persons, not sanctioned by the teachings of Christ. Just in the same way, Islam cannot be blamed for the individual acts of any Muslim, whether a ruler or an officer of the state.

As noted above, the rise and spread of Islam was very very extraordinary, it was this miraculous success which shook the faith of Christians and the members of the other faiths that came under their rule and saw in those conquests the hand of God. Worldly prosperity they associated with the divine favour. Thus the very success of the Muslims seemed to argue the truth of their religion.

Then again the Islamic ideas of the brotherhood of all believers was a powerful attraction to this creed, and the influence of the more orthodox doctors of Islam is proved by the fact that twenty thousand Christians, Jews, and Magians became Muslims when Imam Ibn Hanbal died.[53]

Let us take the case of China. It was never conquered by the Muslims. There Islam spread solely through the peaceful efforts of the Muslim traders and missionaries who went to that country. It is at the commencement of the Thang dynesty (618-907) that mention is first made of the Arabs in the Chinese annals. The Chinese chroniclers speak of the arrival in Canton of "a great number of strangers from the kingdom of Annam, Cambodge, Medina, and several other countries. These strangers worshipped the heaven (i.e. God), and had neither statue, idol or image in their temple. The kingdom of Medina is close to that of India : in this kingdom originated the religion of these

strangers which is different to that of Buddha. They do not eat pork or drink wine, and they regard unclean the flesh of any animal not killed by themselves. They are now-a-days called Hoey-hoey (this is the name by which Chinese Mussulmans call themselves). It signifles at once "return" and "submission", (i.e. return to God by the straight path and submission to the will of Almighty). They have a temple called the temple of the Blessed Memory which was built at the commencement of the Thang dynasty. At the side of the temple is a large round tower, six hundred and ten feet high called Kang-ta (the undecorated tower). These strangers went every day to this temple to perform their ceremonies."[54]

The famous traveller Ibn Batutah, who visited China about the middle of the fourteenth century speaks of the hearty welcome he received as being a new-comer from the country of Islam, and says, "In every town there is a special quarter for the Muslims, inhabited solely by them, where they have their mosques ; they are honoured and respected by the Chinese".[55]

As the Muslims in China were law-abiding, the Chinese governments always treated them with consideration and made no distinction between them and the Chinese. At times this excited envy in the minds of some Chinese officials, and some report was made against the Muslims of the Province of Shen-si on which the Emperor issued a very interesting decree in 1731, which is as follows :

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"In every province of the empire, for many centuries past have been found a large number of Mussulmans who form part of the people, whom I regard as my children just as I do my other subjects. I make no distinction between them and those who do not belong to their religion. I have received from certain officials secret complaints against Mussulmans on the ground that their religion differs from that of the Chinese, they do not speak the same language, and wear a different dress to the rest of the people. They are accused of disobedience, haughtiness, and rebellious feelings, and I have been asked to employ severe measures against them. After examining these complaints and accusations, I have discovered that there is no foundation for them. In fact, the religion followed by the Mussulmans

is that of their ancestors ; it is true that their language is not the same as that of the rest of the Chinese but what a multitude of different dialects there are in China. As to their temples, dress and manner of writing, which differ from those of the other Chinese, these are matters of absolutely no importance, these are mere matters of custom. They bear as good a character as my other subjects, and there is nothing to show that they intend to rebel. It is my wish, therefore, that they should be left in the free exercise of their religion, whose object is to teach men the observance of a moral life, and the fulfilment of social and civic duties. This religion respects the fundamental basis of government and what more can be asked for ? If then the Musulmans continue to conduct themselves as good and loyal subjects, my favour will be extended towards them just as much as towards my other children. From among them have come many civil and military officers, who have risen to the very highst ranks. This is the best proof that they have adopted our habits and customs, and have learned to conform themselves to the precepts of our sacred books."[56]

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While it is true that there are cases of some Muslim rulers who have used force in trying to propagate Islam, which was contrary to the explicit teachings of Islam, as explained above, there are many other Muslim rulers who have acted on Islamic teachings of toleration and gave complete religious freedom to their non-Muslim subjects. Thus, even the much maligned Emperor Aurangzeb has laid down supreme law of toleration for the ruler of people of another faith. "An attempt had been made to induce the Emperor to deprive of their posts two non-Muslims, each of whom held the office of a pay-master on the ground that they were infidel Parsis, and the place would be more fittingly filled by some tried Muslim servant of the Crown ; moreover it was written in the Quran, 'O believers, take not my foe and your foe for friends' (60 : 1). The Emperor replied, 'Religion has no concern with secular business, and in matters of this kind bigotry should find no place". (He too appeals to the authority of the sacred text, which says, 'To you your religion, and to me my religion.' (109 : 6), and points out that if the verse his petitioner had quoted were to be as an established rule of conduct, 'then we

ought to have destroyed all the Rajas and their subjects ; government posts ought to be bestowed according to ability and from no other consideration'."[57]

The rationalistic character of Islam, and the advantages it reaps therefrom in its missionary efforts, have been admirably stated by Professor Montet, "But in spite of the rich development in every sense of the term, of the teachings of the Prophet, the Quran has invariably kept its place as the fundamental starting point, and the dogma of the unity of God has always been proclaimed therein with a grandeur, majesty, an invariable purity and with a note of sure conviction, which it is hard to find surpassed outside the pale of Islam. This fidelity to the fundamental dogma of the religion, the elemental simplicity of the formula in which it is enunciated, the proof that it gains from the fervid conviction of the missionaries who propagate it are so many causes to explain the success of a Muslim missionary.

"A creed so precise, so stripped of all theological complexities and consequently so accessible to the ordinary understanding, might be expected to possess and does indeed possess a marvellous power of winning its way with the consciences of men".[58]

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About the peaceful spread of Islam, Professor Arnold says, "In the hours of its political degradation, Islam has achieved some of its most brilliant spiritual conquests, on two occasions, infidel barbarians have set their feet on the necks of the followers of the Prophet—the Saljuq Turks in the eleventh and the Mongols in the thirteenth century—and in each case the conquerors have accepted the religion of the conquered. Unaided also by temporal power and innocent of any political motive, Muslim missionaries have carried their faith into Central Africa, China, and the East Indian islands".[59]

The Treatment of the Minorities.

I have dealt briefly with the rights given to the non-Muslim minorities by the Holy Prophet of Islam and by his eminent successors, and now let us examine whether they were the so-called 'paper guarantees' , or were they in fact acted upon.

History tells us that Hazrat Omar, in addition to the deputies

from the capital, used to call representatives, from all parts of his vast empire, and among these were always included non-Muslim representatives.

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The rights given by Hazrat Omar to his non-Muslim subjects were far more liberal than those given to their non-nationals by the governments which were then in existence. The Roman and Persian were two powerful neighbouring kingdoms. In both these countries the rights of the non-nationals were worse than those of slaves. In Syria, although the inhabitants were of the same faith as the Romans, they had no right of ownership on the land in their occupation. They were considered as chattels and were transferred along with the land, and whatever rights the previous owner of the land had over them the new owner acquired them by transfer. About their condition, Sir William Muir says, "Had the Muslims ill-treated the people of Syria or persecuted their religion, their position would now have been desperate indeed; but their leniency towards the conquered, and their justice and integrity presented a marked contrast to the tyranny and intolerance of the Romans. The result was that when the Roman army, after much preparation appeared on the scene (Syria), the Muslims were, to all intents and purposes, in a friendly country. The Syrian Christians enjoyed more civil and political liberty under the Arab invaders than they had done under the rule of Heraclius, and they had no wish to return to their former state."[60]

Similarly the Jews had no rights whatsoever. The Christians in Persia were in a deplorable condition. When their countries came under Muslim rule, all non-Muslims were assured of their life, property, and religion; their places of worship were to be protected. Whatever lands they possessed remained in their possession. To give them camplete protection and to take away all chances of coercion, the Muslims were forbidden even to purchase their land.

The life and property of the non-Muslims was considered to be as valuable as that of a Muslim. In fact, Hazrat Ali has said, "The blood of the *Dhimmis* is like the blood of the Muslims". If any Muslim happened to kill a non-Muslim, Hazrat Omar used to order the killing of the murderer. A Muslim of the name

of Ibn Wail killed a Christian named Hairut. The Caliph ordered that "the killer should be surrendered to the heirs of the killed." The culprit was made over to Honain, Hairut's heir, who put him to death.[61]

In all matters concerning the non-Muslims Hazrat Omar used to consult their representatives. In the settlement of Iraq, the native Parsi chiefs were consulted , and in the case of Egypt, Muqauqas (an ex-governor of Egypt) and a Copt representative were consulted.

The rights given to the minorities about their person and property were not paper guarantees, but they were enforced very rigorously. A non-Muslim cultivator of Syria complained that the armed forces had destroyed his cultivation, Hazrat Omar ordered that ten thousand dirhams (about £7,500) be paid to him as a compensation. He used to send strict orders to district officers that non-Muslims should not be treated unjustly, and impressed it upon them orally as well. Kadi Abu Yusuf has stated that once when Hazrat Omar was returning from Syria, he saw that some men were made to stand in the sun and hot oil was being poured over them. He inquired the reason of this treatment, and was informed that they had not paid the jazia. Again Hazrat Omar asked what their excuse was for non-payment. In reply he was informed that it was poverty. He ordered them to be released, and said that he had heard the Prophet saying that people should not be put into trouble, those who ill-treat men in this world, they will be punished on the day of judgment by God. He issued instructions to Abu Obaidah, after his conquest of Syria, that Muslims should be prohibited from cruelly treating non-Muslims, or appropriating thier money, and impressed upon him the importance of fulfilling all the conditions which he had made with them. In the last sentences of his detailed will, which Hazrat Omar had prepared a few days before his death for his successor, he said that whatever agreement had been made with the non-Muslims, should be fulfiiled, and they should never be harassed.

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To what extent these rights were protected can be seen from the following incident. Before a companion of the Prophet (Gurfa), a Christian abused the Prophet, upon which Gurfa slapped him.

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The Christian made a complaint to Amar ibn al-Ass, the Governor of Egypt, who sent for Gurfa and questioned him about the incident. Gurfa described all that had happened. The Governor said in reply that peace had been promised to non-Muslims. Gurfa said that by that, they had not been given the permission to abuse the Prophet openly. The Governor said that as they had been promised protection they were not to be harshly treated.

Ia religious matters the non-Muslims enjoyed complete freedom, and used to perform their religious rites, without any hinderance. They had complete freedom to blow their shell pipes and take out cross processions, and hold their fairs. In Egypt for thirteen years, Peter of Alexandria wandered over from place to place on acccunt of the fear of the Romans. It was after the conquest of Egypt by Amar ibn al-Ass that he was given a written safe conduct, after which he returned and regained his office. In all agreements made with the non-Muslims, they were guaranteed the safety of their person, property, and full religious freedom. By sermons and instructions, Hazrat Omar used to do propagation of Islam. But he always stressed the fact that no one should be compelled to accept Islam. One Ateeq was his Christian slave. Naturally he was anxious that he should accept Islam, but when he refused, he quoted the verse of the Holy Quran, "Let there be no compulsion in religion." (2 : 257).

The Parsis, Greeks, and Copts who were already working in the office of receiving tributes continued to work under Hazrat Omar.

These facts should be enough to show that in the right of citizenship, Hazrat Omar made no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. Among the volunteers who used to get allowances from the public treasury, there was no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. As stated above, non-Muslims were allowed to pay the same taxes as Muslims, when they refused to pay Jazia, or served in the army.

In the time of Hazrat Abu Bakar, a Muslim who was unable to work on account of his old age or physical infirmity was given an allowance by the state. This right was also recognised in the treaty of Hira made by Hazrat Khalid, in which he says, "I have given the non-Muslims the right that if any old man is incapable of working or meets with some calamity, or one

who was rich before, and now had become poor, and for this reason is getting charity from his co-religionists, then these persons would be exempt from paying jazia, and he and his children will get a maintenance allowance from the state so long as they will remain in Muslim territory, but if they depart to a foreign country, then this allowance would cease."

The practice continued in the time of Hazrat Omar who wrote to the superintendent of the Public treasury that according to the verse of thc Holy Quran, *Sadaqa* and charity was for the poor and destitutes. The latter included both poor Muslims and non-Muslims.

Non-Muslims were treated with as much honour and respect as Muslims, and it was looked upon with great disfavour to use any word to humiliate them. Once Amir bin Saad, who was governor of Hims and was one of the most pious amongst the officers, said about a non-Muslim, "May God humiliate him." On this he felt so much remorse that he came to Hazrat Omar and resigned from his office, saying that it was because of his official position that he committed this mistake.

Another notable feature was that even when non-Muslims were guilty of revolt or conspiracy against the state, they received far lenient treatment from Hazrat Omar than they would get from any modern state, in which the good treatment of its subjects lasts so long as they do not take part in any political activity against it. But if they do, then horrible and cruel treatment is meted out to them.

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There was a town Arbus at the extrimity of Syria, and at the other end it adjoined Asia Minor. Along with Syria this town was also conquered and was included in the peace treaty. But most of the inhabitants were in league secretly with the Romans, and used to do espionage work for them. When Amir bin Saad, the governor, informed Hazrat Omar about it, he sent a remarkable order. He said that their property, land, cattle and other belongings should be valued and double of this amont be paid to them, and they be asked to leave the place. But still if they refuse, then after a year they should be banished. Is there any instance in which a modern state has treated its treacherous subjects in such a lenient way.

It was as a result of good treatment of non-Muslims that they allied themselves with the Muslims in the wars against their own co-religionists. They used to supply the provisions to the Muslim army, used to hold markets in the military camps, and construct roads and bridges at their own expense. I have described above the incident as to how the Christians and Jews prayed for the Muslims, when they evacuated Hims and returned their tax money.

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The Rt. Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali says, "It is a notable fact, with few parallels even in modern history, that after the conquest of Egypt the Caliph Omar scrupulously preserved intact the property dedicated to the Christian churches, and continued the allowances made by the former government for the support of the priests.

"The best testimony to the toleration of the early Muslim governments is furnished by the Christians themselves. In the reign of Osman (third Caliph), the Christian Patriarch of Mero, addressed the Bishop of Fars, named Simeon, in the following terms, 'The Arabs who have been given the kingdom (of the earth) do not attack the Christian faith; on the contrary they help us in our religion, they respect our God and our Saints, and bestowed gifts on our churches and monasteries'."[62]

Both the Caliphs of Baghdad, and those of Spain, created a special department charged with the protection of the minorities and the safeguarding of their interests. The head of this department was called *Katib-ul-Jibayah* in Baghdad, and *Katib-e-Zimma* in Spain.

It is alleged "that upon these clients or 'People of protection' twelve conditions were imposed, six necessary and six desirable. The former were that they should not revile the Koran, nor Muhammad, nor Islam; that they should not attempt to convert a Muslim or injure him in life or goods; and that they should not assist the enemy nor harbour spies. From the client committing any of these offences the protection of the Muslim was withdrawn; that is, he becomes an outlaw and his life forfeited. The six "desirable" conditions are—that they should wear distinctive clothing, the ghiyar, a yellow patch on their dress, and the girdle (zannar); that they should not build houses higher than those of the Muslims: nor ring their bells (nakus), nor read their scriptures in a loud voice; nor drink

wine in public, nor let their crosses or swine be seen ; that their dead should be wept and buried in silence ; and that they should not mount a horse, only mules and asses. The breach of these regulations was visited with penalties".[63]

This so-called 'contract of Omar', is so much at variance with his conduct and other specific instructions that its authenticity has been questioned even by the critics of Islam. In the opinion of Sir William Muir the ' desirable ' conditions belong to a latter generation. Perhaps there is a confusion between Omar I and Omar II. He says, "We read, in later days of the 'Ordinance of Omar' regulating the condition of Christian Communities throughout Islam. But it would be libel on that tolerent ruler to credit him with the greater part of these observances ; — the worst disabilities of the intolerant 'ordinance' were not imposed till a later period."[64]

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Professor Arnold says, "It does not seem to be mentioned by any authority earlier than the 8th century of the Hijrah".[65]

However as this alleged 'Contract of Omar' is mentioned in the works of some Muslim historians, let us examine what they have got to say about it. It is alleged that as Hazrat Omar wanted non-Muslims not to copy the Muslims in their dresses or general appearance he asked them to put on a particular dress. But one has to see whether Hazrat Omar prescribed this dress as a sign of humiliation, or whether it was their own dress which they had been wearing at the time of the Muslim conquest. In *Kanzul Ammal* it is specifically written that when the non-Muslims agreed not to put on a particualr dress, they said that they would wear the same dress which they had been wearing so far. From this it is obvious that no new dress was prescribed for them, and no question of humiliation arises in putting on one's own dress. The same is the case with 'Girdle' (zannar) which was also a part of their dress. It may be pointed out that later on Caliph Mansur prescribed a dress similar to that of the non-Muslims for his court. There was a long cap something like the one worn by Parsis, and belts like those worn by non-Muslims before the conquest by Islam. All the historians agree that the court dress prescribed by Caliph Mansur was in accordance with those worn by Ajmis (people of Iran). Thus if Hazrat

Omar had really prescribed a dress to humuliate non- Muslims, as is alleged against him, how could that dress have been adopted as court dress by Caliph Mansur.

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The alleged restrictions about the cross, nakus and pigs, were not absolute, but were restricted as regards time and place. Thus it is said that the Christians can sound their nakus at any time during the night or day except at the time of Muslim prayers. About the crosses it was said that they should not be taken in Muslim meetings. Similarly pigs which are regarded as unclean and the flesh of which is prohibited to Muslims were not to be taken in Muslim compounds.

Thus these conditions, even if they were imposed at all, were laid down to maintain peace, and cannot be deemed to be unjust. Even in the present day, every government has got the right to impose restrictions to preserve public peace. Thus in the time of the British rule in India, on many occasions Hindus were prohibited from playing music before mosques at the time of Muslim prayers, or Muslims were prohibited from sacrificying cows (which is regarded as sacred by the Hindus) at the time of their festival, in order not to offend the Hindus and thereby prevent a riot. The pages of the law reports of the various High Courts in India are full of cases arising out of riots on these occasions when steps were not taken to stop them in time. Even today similar precautions are taken by the Indian and Pakistani governments to prevent a breach of peace. But these restrictions were imposed for a short time, they were not the permanent feature of the administration. It will be absurd if one were to say that during the time of the British rule, Hindus were prevented from playing their music, or Muslims were prevented from sacrificing cows.

As regards the prohibition of baptizing their children by the Christian tribe of Bani Taghlab, it may be stated that it was also a temporary restriction put at the instance of those from amongst the tribe who had accepted Islam. Among the Christians, a child is baptized at a very early age. It is done with an idea to prevent him from accepting another faith later on. A question arose at that time that if a member of a Christian family accepted Islam and died leaving minor children,

then how were they to be brought up. Would they be considered Muslims, or would the other Christian members of the family have a right to baptize them. This restriction was confined to such cases and it seems to be just, as their father had accepted Islam before his death.

It is a matter of regret that some Muslim jurists without making an inquiry as to the truth of the alleged 'Contract of Omar' based some of the provisions of Muslim jurisprudence on it. They laid down in some cases that non-Muslims should put on a distinctive dress etc.

About these alleged conditions, Professor Arnold says, "To European readers, unaccustomed to the outward distinction in dress, etc, that orientals of different creeds naturally and spontaneously adopt, these regulations may appear as unwarrantable infringement of personal liberty. But if the brotherhood of believers—what some writers are fond of calling free-masonary of Islam—was to become a reality, it demanded some outward and visible expression, and it was necessary to prevent those who refused to enter into the pale of Islam from imitating the prevailing tendency among the new converts toward the adoption of Arab fashions in dress and speech. As to the restrictions imposed on the public exhibition of religious symbols and observances, these are only such as would be necessary for the preservation of public peace and order, and for avoiding any outbreak of fanaticism among the Muslim population, to whom anything savouring of idolatory was especially hateful. Had these regulations always been observed, many riots involving loss of Christian lives and property would have been averted; but, as a matter of fact, they were put into force with no sort of regularity; indeed, some outburst of fanaticism was generally needed for their revival."[66]

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It is a historical fact that non-Muslims were employed in the army. Hazrat Omar wrote to his officers in Iraq in 17th Hijra, "If any help from the cavalry of non-Muslims be forthcoming, take it and excuse Jazia." It is also a fact that if a non-Muslim tribe helped the Muslims in their wars, it was exempted from paying Jazia for the whole year. In twenty-second Hijra, when Azarbijan was conquered, then it was ordered that those who would work with the army, would be excused from paying the Jazia for that year.

That the rights given to the non-Muslims were a reality and they enjoyed them in practice, is borne out by the testimony of various authors, both Muslims and Christians, some of whom have been quoted above. A few more illustrations are given below :

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Gibbon says, "To his Christian subjects Mohammad readily granted the security of their persons, the freedom of their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worship."[67]

Writing about the position of Christians, Professor Margoliouth says, "Profession and industries requiring intellectual ability drifted into their hands, the court physician was regularly a jew or a Christian, and even the Secretary of State was often chosen from their ranks. Any place in the state, except that of head of it or leadership of the army oould be theirs. The Muslims of both Caliphates were constantly scandalised by the bureau being filled with Christians, Jewish, or even Sabian and Magian officials .....in the dissension between the rival Caliphates and the Byzantines, Christian and Muslim troops occasionally were found fighting together against Muslims, and the initial success of the Crusaders was due to the favour shown to the Christian invaders of Palestine by the Egyptain Muslims. The history of Spain and North Africa furnishes other examples of exception".[68]

Even in the twentieth century we find that in all colonial governments, the heads of the government and those of important departments always belong to the ruling class. Thus in India till the relinquishment of power by the British, the heads of both Provincial and Central governments, of the army, and other important departments were British. Similar is the case in the French, Belgian and other colonies.

Christians frequently held high posts at court ; for example a Christian Arab, Al Akhtal, was court poet, and the father of St. John of Damascus, was Counsellor to the Caliph Abdul-Malik (685-705). In the service of the Caliph Al-Mutasim (833-842) there were two Christian brothers, who stood very high in the confidence of the Commander of the Faithful : the one, named Salmoyah, seemed to have occupied somewhat the position of modern Secretary of State, and no royal documents were valid until countersigned by him, while his brother, Ibrahim, was entrusted

with the care of the Privy seal, and was set over the *Baitul-Mal* or Public Treasury, an office that, from the nature of the funds and their disposal, might have been expected to have been put in the hands of a Muslim. So great was the Caliph's personal affection for this Ibrahim, that he visited him in his sickness..... Nasr ibn Harun, the Prime minister of *Addud Dawlah* (949-982) of the *Buwayhid* dynasty of Persia was a Christian, and had built many churches and monasteries. For a long time the government officers, especially in the department of finance, were filled with Christians and Persians; to a much later date such was the case in Egypt, where at times the Christians almost entirely monopolised such posts. Particularly as physicians, the Christians amassed great wealth and were much honoured in the houses of the great. Gabriel, the personal physician of the Caliph Harun-ur-Rashid, was a Nestorian Christian and derived a yearly income of eight hundred thousand dirhams a year from his private property, in addition to an emolument of two hundred and eighty thousand dirhams a year in return for his attendance on the Caliph; the second physician, also a Christian, received twenty two thousand dirhams a year. In trade and commerce, the Christians also attained considerable affluence: indeed it was frequently their wealth that excited against them jealous cupidity of the mob.....a feeling that fanatics took advantage of, to persecute and oppress them. Further, the non-Muslim communities enjoyed an almost complete autonomy, for the government placed in their hands the independent management of their internal affairs, and their religious leaders exercised judicial functions in cases that concerned their co-religionists only.[69]

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"The Hindus enjoyed under the Musulman government complete indulgence with regard to the rites and ceremonies of their religion, as well as with respect to the various privileges and immunities, personal and collateral, involved in that singular compound of allegrory and superstition...In matters of property, on the contrary, and in all other temporal concerns (but more specially in the criminal jurisdiction) the Musulman law gave the rule of decision, except where both the parties were Hindoos, in which case the point was referred to the judgment of the Pundit or Hindoo lawyers".[70]

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How little was effected towards the spread of Islam by violence on the part of the Muhammadan rulers, may be judged from the fact that even in the centre of the Muhammadan power, such as Delhi and Agra, the Muhammadans at the present day, in the former district hardly exceed one tenth, and in the latter they do not form one fourth of the population.[71]

Any departure made by any Muslim ruler from the teachings of the Holy Quran, and the Prophet of Islam must be considered as a transgression. The Rt. Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali has very aptly remarked "Mutawakkil, who raised to the ground the mausoleum of the martyr Husain and forbade pilgrimages to the consecrated spot, excluded non-Muslims, as he excluded the Muslim Rationalists, from the employment of the state and subjected them to many disabilities. In the later works of law, written whilst the great struggle was proceeding between Islam and Christendom, on one side for life, on the other side for brute mastery, there occur, no doubt, passages which give colour to the allegation that in Islam zimis are subject of humiliation. But no warrant for this statement will be found in the rules inculcated by the Teacher, or his immediate disciples or successors. It must be added, however, that the bigoted views of the later canonists were never carried into practice ; and the toleration and generosity with which the non-Muslims were treated are evidenced by the fact that zimis could be nominated as executors to the wills of the Muslims, that they often filled the offices of Muslim universities, and educational institutions, and of curators of Muslim endowments so long as they did not perform any religious functions. And when a non-Muslim of worth and merit died, the Muslims attended his funeral in a body. In the beginning military commands, for obvious reasons, were not entrusted to non-Muslims, but all other posts of emolument and trust were open to them equally with Muslims. This equality was not theoratical, for from the first century of Hijra, we find important offices of state held by Christians, Jews, and Magians. The Abbasides, with rare exceptions, recognised no distinction among their subjects on the score of religion. And the dynasties that succeeded them in power scrupulously followed their example.....Under the Moghul Emperors of Delhi, Hindus commanded armies, administered provinces and

sat in the councils of the sovereign".[72]

As stated above, Islam recognises no distinction based upon race, colour or birth. Even in the days of Muslim decadence, Islamic society has been remarkably free from the prejudices which vitiated human relations in many parts of the world. Similarly, Muslims have a great record in tolerance, for under no system of government even in the Middle ages, have the minorities received the same consideration and freedom as they did in Muslim countries.

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When Christian dissentients and Muslims were being tortured and driven out of their homes, when they were being hunted as animals and burnt as criminals—in Islamic society criminals have never been burnt—Islam provided a refuge to all who were persecuted. It is a well-known fact of history that, when anti-Semitism turned Jews out of many a European country, it was the Turkish Empire which gave them shelter. The greatest proof of Muslim tolerance lies in the fact that there is no Muslim country where strong minorities do not exist, and where they have not been able to preserve their religion and culture. In the sub-continent of India, which was under Muslim rule for over six or seven hundred years before the advent of the British, the rights of the Hindus and other minorities were protected. It was during the Muslim rule that many indigenous languages developed in India. Again, it was due to the encourgement given by the Muslim rulers that the first translation of the Hindu scriptures was made from Sanskrit into Bengali. In short, under. Islam, a minority does not live on sufferance but is respected and is given every opportunity to develop its own thought and culture, so that it may contribute to the greater glory of the entire nation.

The famous Objective Resolution embodying the main principles on which the Constitution of Pakistan was to be based, was passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 12th March 1949. It *interalia* stated, "Wherein the principle of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed ;...Wherein adequate provision shall be made for minorities freely to profess and practice their religions, and develop their culture ;...Wherein shall be guaranteed

fundamental rights including rights such as equality of status and opportunity, equality before law, freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, and social, economic, and political justice, subject to law and public morality; wherein adequate provision should be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes."

Moving this resolution in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 7th March, 1949, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, the First Prime Minister of Pakistan said, "In our desire to build up an Islamic society, we have not ignored the rights of the non-Muslims. Indeed, it would have been un-Islamic to do so, and we would have been guilty of transgressing the dictates of our religion if we had tried to impinge upon the rights of the minorities. In no way will they be hindered from professing or protecting their religion or developing their culture. The history of the development of Islamic culture itself shows that the culture of the minorities, who lived under the protection of Muslim states and empires, contributed to the richness of the heritage which the Muslims built for themselves. I assure the minorities that we are fully conscious of the fact that if the minorities are able to make a contribution to the sum total of human knowledge and thought, it will redbound to the credit of Pakistan and will enrich the life of the nation. Therefore, the minorities may look forward, not only to a period of the fullest freedom, but also to an understanding and appreciation on the part of the majority which has always been such a marked characteristic of Muslims through the history".[73]

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Again about the rights of backward and depressed classes he goes on to say, "There are a large number of interests for which the minorities legitimately desire protection. The backward and depressed classes are our special charge. We are fully conscious of the fact that they do not find themselves in their present plight for any fault of their own. It is also true that we are not responsible by any means for their present position. But now that they are our citizens, it will be our special effort to bring them up to the level of other citizens, so that they may bear the responsibilities imposed by their being citizens of a free and progressive state, and share them with others who have been more fortunate than themselves.

We know that so long as any section amongst our people are backward, they will be a drag upon society and therefore, for the purpose of building up our state we must necessarily look to the interests of these sections"[74]

This Objective Resolution formed the Preamble of the Constitution of Pakistan which came into force in March 1956. Having regard to the teachings of the Holy Quran, and the treatment accorded to the minorities by the Holy Prophet of Islam, and his immediate successors, and in other cases, as shown above, it is difficult to understand how some writers can allege that Muslims alone had full citizenship rights, and non-Muslims only secondary rights.[75]

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From what has been described above, it becomes the duty of an Islamic State to fully safeguard the lives, property, honour, religious freedom and civic rights of all the loyal non-Muslim subjects within its jurisdiction. If any outside power endangers the security of their lives or property, then it is the duty of the Muslim state to protect them even if it has to declare war against that power. The non-Mnslims, should not be burdened with taxes which they cannot pay, as has been illustrated from the example of Caliph Omar, who not only excused the non-Muslims from paying the poll tax when it was shown that they could not pay, but granted allowances for their subsistence. In the enjoyment of these rights, the non-Muslims do not depend upon the sweet will of the Muslim majority; it is a duty imposed on the latter by God to protect the rights of the minorities; and they can, on no pretext whatsoever, swerve from the path of their duty. Some critics of Islam assert that Muslims are forbidden to have any kind of friendly relations with non-Muslims. Thus an author says, "The world belongs as of right to the believer, who has certain obligations to those communities who possess some part of the divine revelation but none whatever to the pagan. Muslim law leaves the idolators only the choice between conversion and death. It is only Christians, Jews, and the Zoroastrians who may be legally recognised as an organised minority. Aloofness is enjoined by the Prophet, 'O Believers, take not Jews or Christians as friends! If any one taketh them for his friends he is surely one of them! God will not guide the

evil doers'."[75]

It is difficult to see from where the learned author got this amazing idea of the Islamic teachings. The whole basis of his arguments falls to the ground, if one remembers that such an intimate relationship as that of husband and wife has been allowed between a Muslim man, and a Christian or Jewish woman. How can the same book prohibit other friendly relations. As regards the still greater surprising statement that Muslim law leaves the idolators only the choice between conversion and death, it is only sufficient to point out that after the Muslim rule over India for five or six centuries, the Hindus, who are idol-worshippers, formed more than three-fourth of the entire population. Besides this, from the facts mentioned above there is no room for doubt that this statement is without any foundation whatsoever.

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As regards the verse quoted above, it should be remembered that whenever there is a prohibition against making friends with other people, it relates only to the people who were at war with the Muslims. It is clearly stated in the Holy Quran: "God does not forbid you respecting those who have not made war aginst you on account of your religion, and have not driven you from your homes, that you show them kindness and deal with them justly; for God loves the doer of justice. God only forbids you respecting those who made war upon you on account of your religion, and drove you forth from your homes and backed up others in your expulsion, that you make friends with them, and whoever makes friends with them, these are the unjust". (60 : 8-9). From the Quran, we also find that the prohibition against friendly relations with non-Muslims was only temporary, to be operative only so long as the war lasted, as it says: "It may be that God will bring about friendship between you and those whom you hold to be your enemies among them; and God is Powerful; and God is Forgiving and Merciful" (60 : 7).

These verses were revealed at a time when there was a continual state of war between the Muslims and their enemies. Thus there is no prohibition of friendly relations between the Muslims and the non-Muslims. It is in the light of these verses that all the verses forbidding friendly relations with the unbelievers should be

read, because the principle has been laid down in very unequivocal terms, allowing friendly relations with one kind of unbelievers, and prohibiting such relation with another kind. Examined in this light the inference drawn by the critics that Islam prohibits all friendship between Muslims and non-Muslims, is quite wrong.

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